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The Woman Voter and The Newsletter

Vol. IV. OCTOBER, 1913 No. 10.

Executive Order Number One
A DREAM

Superstitions About the Franchise
BY
NIXOLA GREELEY-SMITH

Equal Suffrage and Labor in Colorado
BY
SARAH RUSH PARKS

Marching On!
BY
ANNA HOWARD SHAW

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Organ of The Woman Suffrage Party and the
New York State Woman Suffrage Association

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Towards Victory

The Policy of the Party The issues of this Fall of 1913 in New York are many and the daily papers are teeming with political discussion. Thoughts of Party platforms, candidates and measures to come before the voters fill the minds of those who are interested in the life of the city. Many great reforms are in the public consciousness; people are alive as never before to such problems as white slavery, child labor, minimum wage legislation and other measures of vital importance. Since suffragists as a group are peculiarly interested, both in politics and social reform, the fact that they have no dynamic connection with either comes with added poignancy at this time.

It is hardly necessary, however, to remind members of the Woman Suffrage Party that for them, at present, there is but one issue—that of enfranchisement in 1915. In order to accomplish this they should forego other activities, no matter how great the lure of playing at politics by indirect methods or entering vicariously into reform movements. Concentration upon the issue of woman suffrage is an absolute necessity if the victory is to be won in two years. Such single mindedness as that of Miss Anthony who used to say, "I see only woman and her disfranchised" must become the universal attitude of suffragists in New York.

As we realize the need of this specialization upon one issue, we understand even more clearly the wisdom of the Party policy. Launched on the 29th of October in 1909, the Woman Suffrage Party has had but one purpose and that it has steadfastly maintained—winning votes for women in New York State. Without a fixed policy of concentration upon the suffrage problem there would have been constant danger of diverting the strength of the organization which has grown from a few thousand to one hundred thousand in membership with organization similar to all political parties in every one of the sixty-three Assembly Districts of the five Boroughs.

Already politicians have felt the influence of this great body and indeed the amendment would scarcely have passed the first legislature in its passage to the popular vote had it not been for the suffrage constituency behind many of the New York City members. Moreover, had it not been for the policy of remaining single minded in its concentration upon the Campaign for Victory in Greater New York the Party might have been long ago utilized for other purposes or might have been divided by political differences.

Not only with regard to local and national politics has the Woman Suffrage Party remained strictly neutral, but it has also consistently refused to enter into discussion of suffrage tactics outside of New York State, upon which there is a controversial difference of opinion. Individual members hold strong views upon this much debated topic and are free to express themselves as they will, but as an organization the Party cannot logically interest itself in anything but the work in New York.

Nothing would be more disastrous to the success of the campaign than a division in our ranks. It is therefore only common sense to continue to affirm our complete neutrality in political matters and to refrain from endorsing the candidates of political parties. It is equally wise neither to endorse or condemn the suffrage leadership and methods of other states and countries, remaining as we always have, neutral on the subject of English militancy, giving it as an organization neither recognition nor condemnation.

♣ ♣ ♣

Women and White Slavery The Antis, who have recently christened themselves Conservationists because they wish to conserve the state of things as they are, have found much satisfaction in quoting police chiefs to the effect that Woman Suffrage will not cure the social evil. It seems that Chief Kieley, of Plainfield, New Jersey, reported the consensus of opinion of six hundred other chiefs of police at their National Association, to the effect that the social evil is a sex problem that women alone can solve. But lest his view seem too radical he modified his statement thus:

> The women themselves can abolish the social evil, not by means of the ballot, but by spreading the broad mantle of Christian charity about their sisters who have fallen. The fact is, however, that the women, instead of trying to reclaim the fallen one, exclude her from their society. If the women would throw a protecting arm around these unfortunate girls, try to give them another chance in life, the social evil would soon be a part of the history of our unhappy past.

We heartily agree with Chief Kieley's view of the need of greater humanity toward women who have been unfortunate, but we fail to see how the administration of sympathy will check this great evil which threatens society. To spread the broad mantle of charity over the victims of the social evil is well enough, after the damage is done. But why should women spend their en-

ergies cheering the "fallen one" while thousands are continuing to fall? Is not the ideal of making society safe for all women even greater than that of healing those who are already hurt?

Chief Kieley ought to know, if he does not, that the ballot can and does have a direct connection with the social evil. What is the difference between an open and a shut town? What is the difference between a city where cadets and procurers ply their trade openly and one in which they are arrested and punished? Can we not, by legislation and proper police protection, make streets, parks and places of amusement safe for the young? Read the history of Seattle, study the legislation of California, get reports from Australia and it will be easily found that not only the ballot, but *the ballot in the hands of women* has a distinct effect upon the suppression of vice.

♣ ♣ ♣

Stepping Backward In the latter part of August a great International Congress of School Hygiene met in Buffalo, New York. Such questions as pure air, proper exercise, nourishment, dental inspection and other matters affecting the health and welfare of school children were discussed by experts.

In Dr. Harvey Wiley's department in *Good Housekeeping* the fact is pointed out that not a woman's name could be found on the long list of those responsible for this Congress. This, we believe to be a peculiar coincidence and one which should not pass without comment. As Dr. Wiley says:

> Either we must conclude that women are not interested in school hygiene or else that they are not deemed worthy to take part in the management of such a congress. Both of these assumptions in my opinion are incorrect. The mother, above everyone else, is interested in the protection of her child's health in the schools, and with a woman at the head of the new Children's Bureau and women serving on school boards and in social work throughout the country, they could surely contribute much to such a project.

We trust that members of the Woman Suffrage Party and others who have been asked to cooperate with this Congress will register a protest with the Secretary, Dr. Thomas H. Storey, City College, New York, requesting that in the future women be officially included in this movement which affects them so vitally.

♣ ♣ ♣

Woman Suffrage Throughout the World Following the adoption of universal woman suffrage in Norway comes the appointment of the first woman judge. Miss Ruth Sörensen, who was admitted to the bar in 1900, is to be judge at Hammerfest, an important town in the North of Norway.

According to a despatch from the Hague, there is every indication that the Dutch women will soon have the parliamentary franchise. In the speech from the throne on September 16th, the new Cabinet announced the speedy introduction of a bill to remove Constitutional obstacles in the way of woman suffrage as well as to extend the franchise to male subjects, with certain exceptions, who have reached a certain age. In other words, democracy is on the way in Holland. "Can't we beat the Dutch?" asks one of the officers of the Party.

♣ ♣ ♣

Jus Suffragii, official organ of the *International Woman Suffrage Alliance*, publishes an impressive list of twenty-one women recently elected to the Parliament of Finland. Since many of these women have served before and have been re-elected, it looks as if Finland believed in the success of equal suffrage.

♣ ♣ ♣

The Woman Movement in France To read the records of the women of other countries, after France, is like eating buns after delicious éclairs, is the opinion of an ardent French writer. But he did not live to see the 20th Century woman movement, which could hardly be called commonplace in any country of the world. He was alluding to the women of the French Revolution who illustrate so well the truth that suffrage history, like all other history, is a matter of constant repetition. For the experience of those French women, who, fired by the democratic ideals of the Revolution, worked valiantly to achieve liberty, equality and fraternity, only to be told that it did not apply to them, has been universal.

There is no more tragic story in the woman movement than that of Olympie de Gonges, who framed her Declaration of the Rights of Women, expecting the patriots to include women in the new government, and for her temerity was sent to the guillotine by Robespierre. Or of Madame Roland, one of the guiding spirits of the Revolution, who filled the men about her with great ideas and wrote in a letter, "I was present at these meetings, but I knew right well what was becoming of my sex, and I never departed from it. I sat outside the circle, either occupied with needlework or writing, whilst they consulted."

When Napoleon asked Madame de Stael how best he could promote the welfare of France, she replied: "Instruct the mothers of the French people." He did not appreciate the wisdom of her reply, but the development of feminist thought in France shows that the influence of these pioneers was not without avail.

♣ ♣ ♣

The French Report at Buda Pest Madame Brunschvicg, who represented the French Union for Woman Suffrage at Buda Pest, showed that the suffrage movement in France is marked, not by brilliant victories but by a steady change in public opinion. As an illustration of this point she cited the success of several laws affecting the welfare of women and children which had been advocated by the suffrage societies. These are, briefly, a law regarding the *Research of Paternity*, a law of *Assistance of Mothers*, and one concerning *Children's Courts*, which provides that in cases of supplementary inquiry the Judge may appoint lawyers of both sexes.

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In this connection it is interesting to note that the influence of the woman movement everywhere leads to progressive legislation. The anti-suffragists like to consider this an argument for indirect influence, but to thinking women it only emphasizes the necessity of enfranchisement if all this legislation in their behalf is to be adequately enforced.

♣ ♣ ♣

Municipal Suffrage for Paris

With such measures as equal pay for men and women teachers, a minimum wage for workers in home industries and the protection of illegitimate children to come before the French people, news that the Municipal Council of Paris has granted woman suffrage is encouraging. According to the press reports women will henceforth be qualified to participate in local elections.

THE VOTE credits *The London Budget* with the following statement:

France will probably have Woman's Suffrage long before England. The Paris Municipal Council has given the signal for a vigorous campaign by passing a resolution in favor of it, and when Parliament reassembles in the autumn M. Ferdinand Brisson will move the discussion of a Universal Suffrage Bill. There is a strong pro-suffrage section in the Chamber of Deputies, including several party leaders, and the debate is sure to be a most interesting one.

In the same article, interviews with leading French women are quoted from the Paris *Matin*.

The Dowager Duchess d'Uzes said:

If you honestly consider the countries in which the female vote is in force, what will you see? The moral level rising; alcoholism diminishing; the birth-rate quite as high as elsewhere, and politics quite as clean as in the other countries.

Maitre Hélène Miropolsky denounces that law made by the greatest despot of modern times, and declares that if they knew it, all women would be feminists. She quotes recent cases in which women have been surreptitiously divorced by their husbands, and then, passing on to the criminal code, remarks:

"Is it not flagrantly unjust that women should not be allowed to sit on a jury? The essence of the law is that all citizens should be members of it, in order to avoid the possibility of class verdicts. But how can you expect a man to understand a woman's soul as we could. *Sex* verdicts have only too frequently taken the place of *class* verdicts, and they are not a whit less cruel or erroneous."

Baroness Fangueux, who is greatly interested in social work, declares that it is beyond question that the law does not protect the working woman, nor even the woman who possesses some means. Maternal authority is insufficiently established, and the time has arrived for modern legislators to make a modern code.

Woman Suffrage and the Peace Congress There was strong sentiment for woman suffrage among the delegates to the Twentieth International Peace Congress which met at the Hague during August. Because the resolution which many desired had not been previously submitted to the Council, it could not pass this session, but through the valiant efforts of Mrs. Maud Nathan the following statement was presented and widely distributed among the delegates:

That in view of the fact that women are not less deeply interested in the blessings of peace than men, and are, indeed, by their natural maternal instinct, even more anxious for the lives, health, and happiness of their sons, but being deprived in most States of the Parliamentary vote, cannot help fully and effectively the cause of international arbitration by direct influence upon Parliament and Governments, the 20th Universal Peace Congress expresses its conviction that the political enfranchisement of women is most desirable on this as well as many other moral and economic grounds, and would lead to a speedier cessation of the arbitrament of war in cases of International disputes.

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Nevada	49-3	19-3	1913-14
North Dakota ...			1914
South Dakota....	70-30	41-2	1914

States Where Amendment Has Passed One Legislature and Must Pass Another.

Iowa	81-26	31-15	1916
New Jersey	46-5	14-5	1914
New York	125-5	40-2	1915
Pennsylvania	131-70	26-22	1915

"In the past, the great obstacle to woman's complete and equal communion with man has been her economical dependence on him—that, while she has not been necessary to man, man has been necessary to her. Hence her forced acceptation of his standard of her position and her duties.

"In one generation, by her portentous achievement of economic independence, woman in a night, like Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, has suddenly elevated herself to a position of aggressive equality. Those who see in the feminine movement no further than a question of political expediency perceive no more than a relatively unimportant manifestation. What has happened is that the purely masculine conception of society has been suddenly put to the challenge. Man's conception of religion, of marriage and the family, of property rights as against sentimental rights, of standards of conduct and political expediency, imperfect and groping as they have been, will in the future progress according to a new alliance between man and woman."—*Fore-word to The Salamander, by Owen Johnson, in McClure's Magazine.*

WHY?

BY

MARY WARE DENNETT.

WHY do women *want* to vote? Because they *need* to vote. They don't all yet know that they need to vote, but they are learning it so fast that men might as well submit to the inevitable and help them win the ballot now, instead of later. It would save a deal of time and labor which might be better spent.

The only way anyone—man or women—can stop needing to vote is to go back to primitive or pioneer life. No one especially needs to vote then, for each one provides for his own wants by his own labor and by the simplest forms of exchange. But no one wants to go back to primitive life. Everyone wants civilized life. And the plan of a civilized life is specialization in work and cooperation, both voluntary and compulsory.

In pioneer life there is very little specialization—both men and women are all round workers, and both are direct producers. With the growth of civilized conditions men have become specialists and professionals. But women have, for the most part, remained amateurs. In conditions where all workers are amateurs, that does no harm, but in conditions where half are amateurs, it does great harm. The amateurs are a needless load for the professionals to carry. Women need to get out of the amateur class—for their own sake—and for the sake of men and children as well.

When women do emerge from the amateur class men will have more help and less burden, and *possibly* a little regulating besides (but suffragists offer no guarantee as to this), and children will have a chance to receive truly efficient as well as devoted care. Mere good intention and devotion are about all a woman can offer, if she has no power to control conditions, and conditions in modern life are not controlled by individuals.

No modern man can successfully provide for his needs by his own labor alone. He must exchange the product of his personal labor for the product of the labor of hosts of others. The method of this exchange is determined by the mutual consent of those concerned and the legislative and executive system of the country is the result. If he does not have a part in controlling this legislative and executive system he becomes either a burden upon society or the victim of society.

Read this sentence over again, substituting woman for man, and you have the reason why women should vote.

They are *people*—that's all, and if *any* people vote, they should vote.

EXECUTIVE ORDER NUMBER ONE.

A DREAM.

THE President walked into his office the day after his inauguration, deep in anxious thought, and greeted his secretary in an absent-minded way, as he walked to the window and looked out and up at the sky. The secretary waited for him to speak in strained silence. This was to be his first official utterance in the great position into which he had been installed amidst elaborate ceremonies the day before.

"I think," said the President still looking up at the sky, "that my first official action should be one in reference to a great demand, spoken and unspoken, by the majority of my fellow citizens, that 'the place for women is in the Home,' and I should see they are put there. The anxiety and unrest on this subject seems to be far-reaching and profound. It has been expressed by a distinguished Member of Congress, by the citizens (male, of course) from all over the country who stood beside the Women's parade on the 3rd of March, and also by that organization of women who, opposed to further suffrage for women, came from New York, Massachusetts and elsewhere, to this city to protest that the place for women is in the home, doing what they feel to be unseemly, unwomanly and wrong, that good may come of it.

"I have therefore decided that my first act shall be an Executive Order for the District of Columbia to read thus: 'As it seems to be the almost unanimous opinion of my fellow citizens (male) that the place for women is in the home it is hereby ordered that after the morning of March 6th every woman in the District of Columbia will remain in her home, and stay there permanently. Should the women attempt in any way to disobey or evade this order, they shall be brought before the local courts and such punishment as seems fit, to compel obedience, meted out to them by the Judges of said courts.' Home, according to Webster's Dictionary, is defined as 'One's fixed place of abode,—a place of affection, peace and rest.'"

The secretary received the order of the President in almost reverential silence; his whole heart responded to this exalted idea of carrying out the wishes and ideals of millions and millions of his fellow men, and well he knew how the President would gain approval, affection, and increased power for good by his determined stand in this matter, which, of course, as soon as it worked perfectly in the District of Columbia, would be made the law for the whole Nation by Congress.

The order was issued at once and caused great consternation among the women, for unfortunately, many thousands of them have no home, in the sense defined by Webster. However, they all understood that the President meant them to stay in the place, whatever it was, they called home, and thus obeyed the law (about which they had been neither considered nor consulted), in the quiet, respectful way they always have done in the past.

About 11 o'clock on the morning of March 7th the President hurried into his office, ready to express his regret that he had not been able to be as absolutely punctual as was his invariable custom in the past. He found no one in the office to meet him, but almost behind him came his secretary, rather breathless and not quite as punctilious about the detail of his costume as usual.

"Good morning," they both said at once; then looked at each other—at first solemnly, and then with rueful smiles.

"How goes it with you?" said the President.

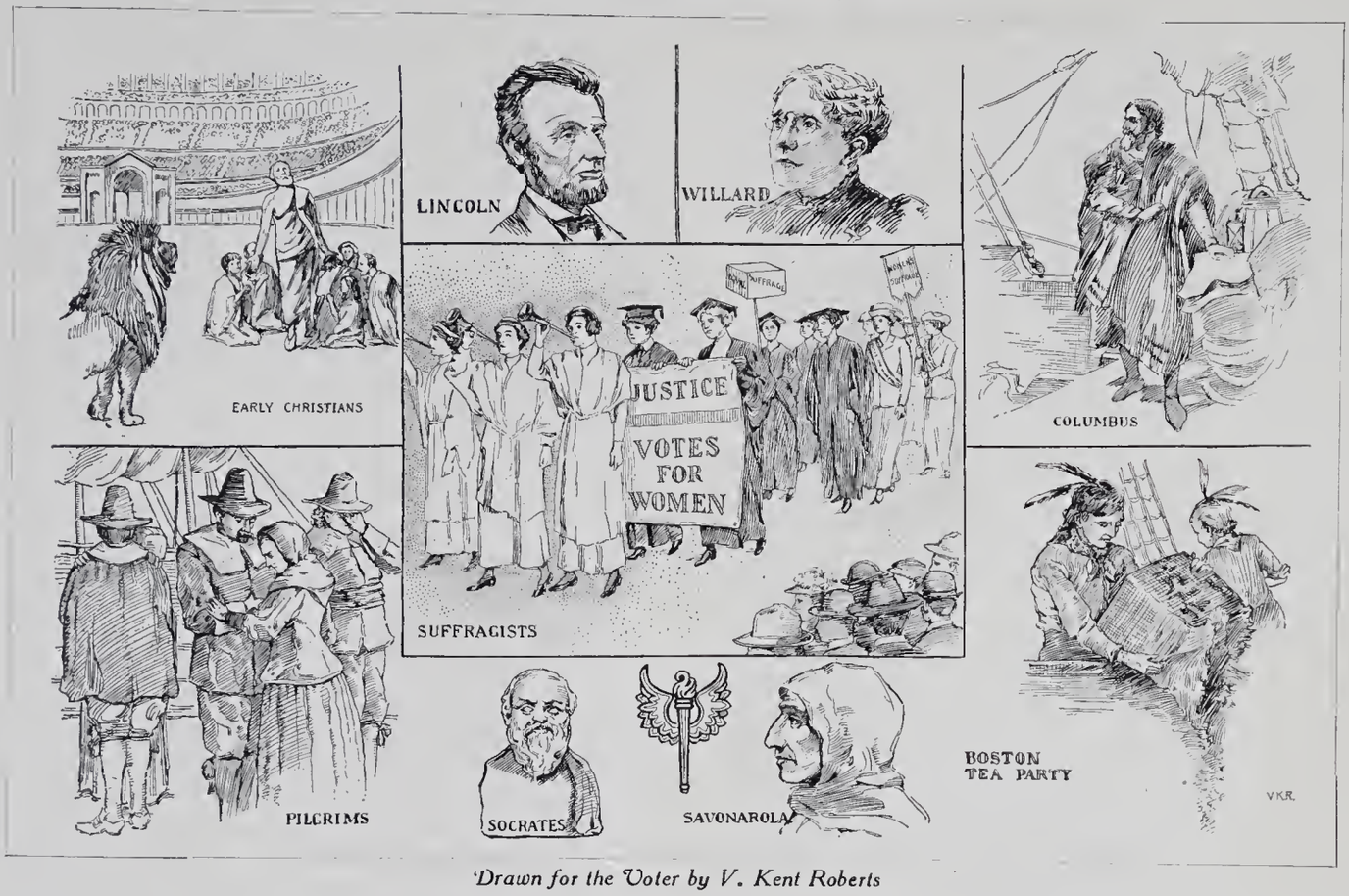
"Well, how goes it with you, Sir, may I ask?" said the secretary.

"Well, the fact is," said His Excellency, "I really had no idea how much our comfort and peace depended on the women who left their homes to serve us. To begin with the cook. No breakfast, of course, and the maids who arrange one's house, and the men servants all had to stay home, for if the women could not go out, they had to market and attend to all the outdoor jobs for them. Nobody came this morning, in fact," said the President, "and my home was not exactly like that described by Mr. Webster in his dictionary, and to tell you the truth, I really rather dislike going back again to find what's happened next. What was your experience?"

"The same as yours, Sir, only more complicated, of course. We have eight children. My wife thought with satisfaction that after I had helped her with the breakfast and cleaning the house, bathing the children, had been to market and the shops and attended to all her usual outdoor duties, that the children could be gotten off to school, and there might be some peace and rest in the home. But you see, Sir, it is quite impossible, with all those lively, healthy youngsters rushing about the house with no one to take charge of them. And there's no school, for most of the teachers are women." With this the poor secretary ran his hands through his already rumpled hair, in utter helplessness and perplexity.

"What's that noise I hear?" inquired the President, himself at a loss to advise or assist his companion. Outside the Presidential office a huge mob of excited men, all more or less rumpled and breathless from haste, had collected, and the crowd grew and grew as they looked. Faster and faster they came, and with one united voice they called with an earnestness, not to be refused, for a conference with the President. He

"WHOM MEN HAVE SCORNED, BUT——"



Drawn for the Voter by V. Kent Roberts

stepped upon the porch and held up his hand and said:

"I will speak with a committee of five who will explain their grievances to me." Five men stepped forward, took off their hats respectfully, and the spokesman said:

"Sir, we come to ask you to recall that Executive Order Number One. We had no idea that our demand that women should stay in their homes would so dislocate the whole business of this city. There is not a man here who has not discovered that he cannot do his own work without the help of the women who leave their homes to take their part of the daily burden, and that Government offices, shops, hospitals, churches, factories, hotels and restaurants, everywhere, have been utterly crippled, and although, Mr. President, we cannot do the work inside the home and out without them, they seem to have done so, and we implore you to at once recall that Order Number One."

This speech was greeted with prolonged and enthusiastic cheers from the men. "Give us back the women in our work," they cried, and cheered again and again.

The President took from the hand of his secretary the copy of Executive Order Number One, and with a smile tore it in pieces and threw them to the winds, and the women went back and began again to do half the work, as they always have done.

In a letter written to an English friend so long ago as 1867, John Bigelow, the famous publicist, said: "While you are extending the elective franchise to men, we are debating the propriety of extending it to our mothers, sisters and daughters. I have no doubt they will enjoy or suffer that franchise here, before it is extended to all the whites in England. I have been surprised to find how much attention the question attracts and how strong a party favors it in some of the States. If adopted in one State (two years after he wrote this it was established in Wyoming), sooner or later it will become general; for I am not aware of any conclusive argument against women's voting when that privilege is enjoyed by all the men."

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"The ancient denial of full human equality to womanhood has now taken its last stand in this doctrine of the necessary slavery of a minority of outcast women—and that to-day we have reached a new milestone in human progress and perhaps the most important yet—a point at which the moral and intellectual elite of both sexes declare for a single standard of morals."—Anna Garlin Spencer.

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"All democrats believe in woman suffrage, and whoever does not believe in it is not a democrat."—Lincoln Steffens.

SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT THE FRANCHISE.

BY
NIXOLA GREELY-SMITH.

THE first superstition which bears directly upon the extension of the franchise to women is that it is possible for a genuine republic to exist where one-half of its citizens are denied the power to register their opinions of the government under which they live. There is an ancient theory that equality of opportunity is the first guarantee of a democratic government, that if an aristocracy can exist within its limits, it is an aristocracy of merit and not of birth.

Yet we find in this the most powerful republic of which history has any record, a privileged class, an hereditary rulership, an autocracy of sex, to which every person is heir who took the trouble to be born a *Man!*

We who neglected to take that supreme precaution, that masterstroke of political finesse, that final demonstration of civic fitness, and were careless enough to come into the world *Women,* find ourselves at birth under a political ban, which no merit, no wisdom, no labor, no social service can remove. Some of us do not feel the ban very much; some of us feel it a great deal.

IN discussing the extension of the franchise to women it is only fair to state briefly the superstitions—their advocates call them reasons—which have been urged against it.

Women are not entitled to vote because they can't fight, say the Anti-suffragists. They declare that in the last analysis a ballot represents man's liability to defend his country in time of war. In the hands of women it would be a blank cartridge or a counterfeit five dollar bill with no gold in the treasury to give it value. In other words, man the actual voter, derives his right to vote from the fact that he is a possible soldier. Yet in many States our actual soldiers are not even possible voters; soldiers, sailors and marines are specifically disqualified, but of course a little discrepancy like that doesn't bother an Anti-suffragist.

In a current periodical Mrs. Margaret Deland in an article called "The Third Way in Woman Suffrage," discussed the substitution of an educational for a sex qualification. But if we allow citizenship only to those who can read and write, and the ballot is merely the Government's recognition of liability for its defense, then in fairness and justice, we should call only upon those who can read and write to shoulder arms. Before we give a man a musket to defend his country we should have to assure ourselves that he could parse the Constitution and locate all the predicates in the Declaration of Independence.

WHAT is the organized opposition to woman suffrage? It is made up of a few rich women, or rather a few wives of rich men, a few theologians, teachers, writers, and here and there a successful professional woman of the sort who believes in pulling the ladder of success up after her when she has gotten to the top. Now this type of professional woman is an intellectual snob, and the more she assumes that other women are mentally or tempermanentally unfitted for the participation in public affairs, the more she exalts her own exceptional self. *She* is the sort one can always flatter by telling her she has *the brain of a man,* or by saying to her, "Ah, if only all women had your intellectual gifts, men would not be afraid to trust them with the vote."

Besides the snob of intellect, there's the snob of money. "My dear," said a rich leader in the Anti-suffrage propaganda to me not long ago, "if women like you and me could vote, I admit it would be perfectly splendid, but I have seen ignorant servant girls in my employ and they, too, would get the vote and they would outvote me."

In a government by the people and for the people, why should they not? And, as a matter of fact, probably each one of these servant girls was thoroughly educated in the needs and oppressions of her own class, and in those practical contacts with life which are most necessary to understanding its problems. There was surely not one who understood less of the spirit of democracy than her employer.

THERE is yet another superstition about the franchise which deserves a brief comment. It is that the old-fashioned woman who loves her home and children does not want to vote and that the suffragist is a new woman who believes that there are higher aims in life than those attained by the mother of a family. You are familiar with this; that the womanly woman is an Anti-suffragist, the woman who wants to vote an unsexed creature seeking to imitate men. But I am sure I may say for all women suffragists that they ask the vote as women, that they consider the exercise of the franchise as much the privilege and the right and the duty of women as it is of men.

A deep-rooted superstition about the franchise is that women receive sex privileges as compensation for their political disabilities. Men, say the Antis, have the right to vote, women the right to support. Even if all women were willing and had consented to sell their political birthright for a mess of pottage, or lobster a la Newburg, or creamed terrapin, whatever it happens to be, let us see if they get it.

In the United States, adult men vote all their lives save for the number who forfeit their citizenship for conviction of crime and soldiers, sailors and marines; practically all men vote from the time they are twenty-one until they die,

and with the exception of the suffrage States, all women are disqualified from voting all their lives. Now are these women legally entitled to lifelong support? Do they get it as all men get the ballot?

Nearly seven million women work for a living in the United States, that is seven million women are paid wages for the work they do. The millions of wives who work in the home and are not paid are held to be supported. Yet there are few persons familiar with the care of children and a servantless household, who do not know what a romantic fiction is embodied in this word *support*. The unmarried self-supporting woman gets nothing in exchange for her political birthright, the married woman gets support during her husband's lifetime, or as long as he remains within the jurisdiction of the court. If the husband dies she may be forced to become a wage earner and there she is with the millions who have to work but can't vote.

Don't you see that to make it even plausibly fair to deprive all women merely on the ground that they are women, of a voice in government, you would have to grant to them all—daughters and mothers and sisters as well as wives, this supposed compensation of compulsory support. In other words, to justify our total exclusion by the argument that support is a compensating privilege, you would have to guarantee each one of us a prosperous husband fully insured or make all men collectively liable for the support of all women. If not you create—you have created—a privileged class, you compensate some women for an injury, a disqualification which falls equally upon them all.

WE hear very often of the six or seven million women who are self-supporting, but I am not one of those who urge that these women who do work which fifty years ago was called the work of men, have any more right to or need of the vote than the wives and mothers in their own homes. Though a married woman still finds her chief happiness in the love of her husband and children, still finds her duty in caring for them, to care for them properly, to love them properly, she must no longer blind herself to the existence and the needs of other wives, other husbands and other children.

To say that no member of a group may have immunity from contagion of misery or from the infection of vice seems a superfluous platitude. Yet the sources of moral and physical infection outside the home, inefficient schools, impure milk, adulterated foods, vicious conditions of street life, all these things cross the threshold of the most guarded household and menace its body and its soul. Even the shallow motherhood, which considers and loves only its own young, must face and deal with the conditions and the lives of the children of others—if only to protect its own.

IF you were to ask me "What possible personal benefit do you think you will derive from being able to vote?" I would have to answer you frankly, "None whatever." Then, why do I want to vote? To strive effectively for better laws for women and children, and not for good women only, but for all women.

"But," exclaim the Anti-suffragists, "the ballot is powerless to abolish child labor, to raise wages or to control the white slave traffic."

I am not prepared to say that it can do any of these things until women everywhere try it. But I know that if you are going into a fight, if you have heard a cry for help, any weapon, however unreliable, is better than none, and we stand to-day with our hands tied, and some of us with wool in our ears, while the voices of oppressed and exploited women and little children call to us.

IT may be that the suffragists entertain many superstitions as to the value of the franchise. Only adequate experience will show us that. Woman has been defined as "the creature who cannot reason, and who pokes the fire from the top." That is exactly what we have been doing, what we are doing still, when we talk of the indirect influence or the social pressure of voteless women. We have poked the fire from the top so long, that, taking our lesson from men, we are asking them please to share the political poker with us; we want to shake out the cinders, burn up the rubbish, poke the fire from the bottom and shed the light and warmth of a government by all the people for all the people upon mankind.

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A WOMAN'S SPHERE.

"PROBABLY it is high time to stop talking nonsense to women about their sphere, because it no longer imposes upon them. So long as it did impose upon them it was, of course, perfectly justifiable, for a man is foolish to pay his cook wages if he can keep her cheerful and willing by flattering conversation.

"Housework, as the ordinary small American household is conducted, is excessively stupid and irksome. No intelligent white man would submit to it a week without running amuck and shooting up the place. To see anything inspiring in mopping the floor, dusting the furniture, making the beds and washing the dishes requires a power of imagination that cannot reasonably be expected of an ordinary female, since only a few extraordinary males have possessed it. As with all animal-like labor that requires mere muscle and patience, it tends to dull the mind. A woman doing her own housework, who is still under forty, observed the other day: 'I used to read a great deal; but now my only ambition is to get the dishes done and die!'

"Food must be cooked, floors mopped, dishes washed, stockings darned. When this dull work falls to the wife it is adding insult to injury to tell her she should never think of doing anything else—that performing labor the relative value of which is measured by a wage of about six dollars a week is the highest usefulness she can possibly find. When the dishes are done she ought to have interests outside the house, as different and as stimulating as possible. If they happen to involve carrying a banner in a political parade the change of occupation will do her good—even if the politics never does."—*Editorial, The Saturday Evening Post, July* 19, 1913.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE AND LABOR IN COLORADO

"DID you know that they'd removed the clerks' stools again in B——'s department store?" inquires a Colorado shopper of the Labor Commissioner. And you wonder, perhaps, why she is so interested in the enforcement of the labor law. Well, for one thing, she has voted for labor laws submitted to the people on initiative or referendum and has taken part in campaigns of enlightenment on the subject. Moreover, she is a member of some club which belongs to the State Federation of Women's Clubs. During the sessions of the Legislature that federation keeps a legislative committee at work. Occasionally it appeals to the clubs to flood the Legislature with letters or to get up demonstrations. Naturally women voters learn something about the labor law and help in enforcing as well as in enacting it.

This labor law of Colorado is of peculiar excellence, especially for a State having not nearly so big a labor problem as Eastern States. Some of its important provisions are the eight-hour laws for miners, for women and for children over sixteen; the six-hour law for children under sixteen; the prohibition of labor for children under fourteen (no exemption is made of canneries in either child or women labor laws); the provision that violation of the child labor law *shall* be punished by imprisonment as well as fine (in enforcing this, Judge Lindsey sent to jail one of Colorado's most respectable citizens, the owner, not the superintendent of a cotton mill); the law establishing a free employment bureau; and the employers' liability and the compulsory minimum wage laws.

Chief credit for these laws belongs, of course, to the State Federation of Labor, whose legislative committee keeps legislators in touch with the working-men and women voters. But a close second in promoting labor legislation is the State Federation of Women's Clubs. It has supported measures beneficial to and opposed measures injurious to labor ever since woman suffrage was granted. And everybody says that the attitude of this committee is very influential in deciding the fate of any bill. Indeed you cannot talk with Colorado men without becoming convinced that the women's vote is a power to be reckoned with at every turn. This is due not merely to the women's voting in even larger proportions than the men—they form from 45 to 48 per cent. of the voters in a State whose male population greatly exceeds its female. More important still is the fact that through the federated women's clubs legislators and other public servants are kept conscious of the will of their women constituents.

Incidentally, this women's committee works harmoniously as well as incessantly. And one comes upon instances of generosity which belie any notion that public women's relation to each other must be vitiated by petty, jealous ambitions. For example: Recently a woman member of the Assembly worked vigorously for the introduction of an important labor measure. Her bill fulfilled the party pledge of an opposing political party which had a majority in both branches of the Legislature. Eventually it developed that because she was of a different party her prominence in supporting the bill might tend to defeat it. Instantly she withdrew, not her support, but her name and, renouncing for herself and for her party the recognition due to her activity in promoting the measure, worked just as hard for a similar bill introduced under the names of two other women.

Turning more directly to industrial conditions: One Saturday afternoon I visited, in a large department store, Denver's most beautiful tea-room, and talked with the manager, who has made a success of which Denver women are proud. Like almost all Colorado women she is interested in working girls. She is proud of her treatment of the waitresses under her, proud also of the store's treatment of all its employees. She showed me the room where the cash and bundle girls attend school by relays and told me that these girls were spending their half holiday at Elitch's famous gardens, admission, matinée and carfare being a gift from the store; she

showed me the cafeteria where employees are served, at the cheapest prices, the food which rich people praise in the tea-room. She spoke of the employees' rest room and of the store's scrupulous observance of labor laws. Wages, averaging betwen $6 and $10 are slightly higher than in other department stores. Feeling a friendly interest in the girls under her and wishing to point them to the highest things, she always speaks to them when she meets them in the street and often visits them when they are sick. None of them are personal friends, of course. I could readily see, she supposed, that companionship between her and them is impossible. As for the character of the girls—well, there is a certain amount of faithfulness and efficiency, but they are very unappreciative of all that is done for them, are careless in abusing things provided for their use, and are many times harder to please, in their food for instance, than any of her wealthiest patrons.

That same day I talked with the forewoman of a bindery. Like the tea-room manager she is in complete charge of many girls. But she talked differently. She and they are members of a trade-union. Working together they secured an eight-hour day long before it was legally compulsory, and doubled their wages, establishing a minimum of $12. Her girls are "on the whole interested in their union and appreciative of what they have won through it;" in fairness to the establishment she keeps such girls only as prove themselves faithful and efficient, and "There isn't a finer set of women in Denver than the bindery girls" she says proudly. Companionship between her and her girls is more than possible; her own daughter is among them.

Contrasting the bindery forewoman with the tea-room manager in the department store, one feels that, sincere according to their understanding as are the employers of that store in their interest in their employees' welfare, their decided opposition to organization among their girls is fatal. To those who recognize the superiority of democracy to benevolence, it is gratifying that, although Colorado women's clubs are not to any extent composed of wage-earning women, their leaders, and to a growing extent the rank and file, endorse not labor measures merely, but organized labor, and that for four years the chairman of their State Legislative Committee has been a working woman prominent in her trade-union.

Organization among Colorado working women is growing. Already the bindery and garment unions control their trades in Denver; there are hopeful attempts at organization among waitresses and laundresses. Visiting the largest garment factory in Denver I heard from the organized girls what I had heard everywhere, that their employer was "as fine an employer as there is in the country." He encourages their union and meets their demands very readily. "Why do you need an organization with so fair an employer?" I questioned, and received in reply the story of the difference between benevolence and democracy as it had practically manifested itself in that factory before and after organization.

Connected with this factory, too, is a story typical of the way organized working women use the ballot. Before the passage of the eight-hour law these girls had a forty-eight-hour week, working eight hours forty-eight minutes daily and four hours Saturdays. Now they work eight hours six days a week. "Not one of us likes it as well," they told me. "And we knew what it meant when we hustled for that law. But the women who haven't succeeded in organizing need an eight-hour law more than we need our half holiday."

In presenting this brief sketch I have no desire to mislead anyone into thinking that the public even in Colorado is nearly as intelligent on labor as it ought to be; much less into assuming that the labor problem is anywhere nearly solved there. But it seems to me undeniable that in moving towards democracy by enfranchising her women, Colorado has done something which is noticeably helping her in the far more difficult struggle to attain democracy in economic and labor conditions. Again; one feels an inevitable false emphasis in writing of women's influence in Colorado politics. For in spite of the convincing facts accurately gathered by the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association (women pledged never to disband until all American women can vote), and by the Colorado Equal Suffrage Aid Association, composed of men and originating "in the intense indignation felt by the men of this commonwealth at the unwarranted attacks upon Colorado women and the effects of equal suffrage;" in spite of women's organization and women's activities, it is impossible to separate women's political influence from men's. The best in that truly admirable commonwealth springs from the cooperation between men and women and sex is wholesomely lost sight of in the broader citizenship.

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"THE franchise is not given to a man in order that he may express the political views of his wife, his sister or his maiden aunt. It is conferred on him that he may express his own views; and, as this is a republic, a government of the people, by the people, for the people, and as women are people, the wife, the sister and the aunt should have the right to express their own views."—ELIZA CALVERT HALL, Kentucky.

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"A WOMAN may vote as a stockholder upon a railroad from one end of the country to the other; but if she sells her stock and buys a house with the money, she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door, which her house is taxed to keep up and pay for."—GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

MARCHING ON!

BY

ANNA HOWARD SHAW,

President National American Woman Suffrage Association.

IT is difficult to name any one predominating cause for the increasing interest and rapid growth of woman suffrage during the past three years. We must simply accept it as a part of the great democratic movement which is sweeping over all the nations of the world, manifesting itself in varying forms, from the revolution in China, the war in the far East and the expulsion and overthrow of the power of the Turk from Europe, to the militant and more constitutional forms of propaganda of women suffrage in great Britain, and the struggle for freedom among women in the United States, which in the past year enfranchised the women of Oregon, Arizona, Kansas, Alaska and Illinois.

In seeking the reason for the rapidly developing interest of women in public affairs, it must not be overlooked that we are in an era of transition in our government. The character of the government is changing from a purely military and industrial form, to that of human welfare, and instead of armies and battleships, belching furnaces and smoking chimneys. Political parties concern themselves with the housing of the people, sanitation, ventilation, pure food, pure water, clean streets, infant mortality, child labor, living wage for working women, the white slave traffic, disease prevention, and scores of other problems which effect human well being.

It is reasonable that at such a time men should seek the aid of women, and that women should desire to cooperate with men in securing the best results. Since these conditions are largely effected and treated by the government, the most direct and surest way of accomplishing the desired ends is for those who are working for them to possess the power to elect officials who will carry out their will.

We should naturally expect this aroused civic conscience and growing sense of personal responsibility on the part of disfranchised women to affect the suffrage movement, and it is a fact that during the past year the number of dues-paying members of the National Suffrage Association was doubled, and that more than one hundred and twenty-five thousand non-dues-paying members were added to the list. Three states and one territory have granted full suffrage, and one state has granted limited suffrage which, added to the previously enfranchised states, gives more than three million women voters. It is no wonder that political parties are having women suffrage planks in their platforms, and that during the past months more governors have recommended the submission of constitutional amendments enfranchising women than in all the previous history of the woman suffrage agitation. Votes for women is no longer considered an academic question. The time for discussion and seed-sowing is past. The season for harvest is at hand.

THE task which confronts us is so small when compared with that already accomplished, it is no wonder that many, wearied with the long struggle, seeing complete victory in sight, feel that there is little need for further aggressive work. This is the gravest possible error that a suffragist can make. The very fact that victory is assured is arousing the enemy who are making greater efforts to defeat us than at any other previous time in our movement. They feel the struggle is a desperate one, and while they admit it is impossible to prevent its ultimate victory, they are seeking as far as possible to delay its progress. This makes the present time for determined aggressive work on the part of suffragists. The service of one woman and the contribution of one dollar now is worth more to our cause than that of ten women and a hundred dollars five or ten years hence.

Anyone who is familiar with the history of the woman movement cannot fail to recognize its ultimate success, but, as Susan B. Anthony said only a few days before she died, "It is true women enfranchisement is coming; no power can prevent it. But the time of its coming depends upon the loyalty and service of those who believe in it."

A LETTER TO ANTI SUFFRAGISTS.

BY

EILEEN WEBSTER.

IT seems to be quite the fashion in New York City for a certain strata of women to decry women suffrage. The malady would seem to be prevalent among women settled in smug comfort in their homes with husbands to take care of them, and to whom the needs of the poor East Side sweat shop worker are as cries of the wind and roar of the sea—necessary evils. You will hear such women reiterate the battle cry of the Antis: "I think woman's place is in the home." Well, Mrs. Selfishness, does anyone deny that her place is in the home? Your place is also in the home; yet you have your bridge parties, your matinees, your luncheons and your gossip clubs.

Now supposing, Mrs. Anti, that your husband

should die or lose his position and health, and that your little girl, who only knows of the world as a beautiful place and who is the very apple of your eye, should be compelled to work in a department store and stand on her feet for practically eight or ten hours a day for the munificent sum of six dollars a week. Wouldn't you, oh, wouldn't you be the first to raise a hue and cry at the injustice of it all?

Well, this is one of the missions that the Woman's Suffrage Party has set out to accomplish. Understand that their main object is not to go down to the polls and vote for Mr. Smith, a Democrat, or Mr. Jones, a Republican. Not at all. That is but a means to an end. The main object of the women suffragists of the United States of America is the moral, mental and physical uplifting of women, and yet, incredible as it may seem, there are actually, yes actually women in this land of the free who would stop this movement of progress.

It is an utter impossibility for any thoughtful woman who has given the subject any consideration to be an Anti Suffragist, and when you, Mrs. Selfishness, raise your tomahawk to retard the march of progress, you are fighting with all your puny strength for:

Child labor.
Long hours for women employees.
Bread and water wages.
Poor ventilation in places of employment.
Lack of fire protection in buildings where women are employed.

I might also say you are pushing girls to the streets, for who shall condemn the girl who is hungry for food and hungry for respectable clothing for straying to the primrose path?

However, in justice to you, and with an effort to be broad-minded, I am sure you do not realize this, and your idea of the Women's Party is simply one of going to the polls, dropping in a ballot and letting it go at that. That's not the idea. The thought is one of humanity to women, and I am sure, Mrs. Anti, that your fault lies solely in the fact that you have not thought.

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"City housekeeping has failed partly because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its multiform activities."—Jane Addams.

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"Outside of the corrupt and self-seeking, the vile and venal, the man cannot be found in Colorado who would do away with equal suffrage."—Judge Ben B. Lindsey.

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"If women had the ballot, they would drive corruption out. I should like to see the ballot in the hands of every woman."—Mark Twain.

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"Woman must be enfranchised. There are no objections to this, except such as would equally hold against the theory of republican government."—Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

WOMEN THE WORLD OVER.

BY

VIDA SUTTON.

Mrs. Havelock Ellis' Interpretation of the Woman Movement.

MRS. HAVELOCK ELLIS is a disciple of Edward Carpenter, England's prophet and seer. With him she has absolute faith in democracy, holding that society has within itself the remedies for all its ills, and is gradually of itself winning health and freedom. The great impulse discernible to-day that is making in this direction, is the growth of social conscience and social consciousness.

Among women, Mrs. Havelock Ellis believes that this spirit shows itself in the expansion of the maternal instinct from the personal to social ends. It is, in a sense, the dawn of a larger motherhood. The feeling not fully born, but vaguely felt, is behind all the activities of the modern woman. The great unrest, the vague reaching out for a fuller life, is the germination of the impulse.

One distinguishing mark of the social nature of the impulse is the union and cooperation of women in every line. Solidarity among women is in the air. When this cooperation recognizes that its function is to serve society and to enlarge the scope of motherhood, the impulse is attaining its great end. It is the idea that the maternal element must be brought into politics that gives value and meaning to woman's demands for political recognition.

"What women idealists like Olive Shreiner and Ellen Key formulate as theories about these important matters," says Mrs. Ellis, "practical women are trying to introduce into legislation. It is not enough for the modern woman to know that the few children she owns, educates or helps, are in better environments or conditions. Her work is not done until every child in the state is physically equipped as her own child is equipped, to take part in the world's work as a true citizen whose pleasure it is to increase the well being of the whole community, not merely of a special family."

Mrs. Havelock Ellis is very much interested in the plan of Dr. Elizabeth Sloanchesser to form an International Federation for the Education and Protection of Mothers. In various parts of England experiments have been made under private direction in the education of future mothers and the hygienic upbringing of young children. In the opinion of the women who have been conducting the work, it should be taken over by the nation, and its objects made world-wide.

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HER VIEW.

The small daughter of a suffragist championing the Votes-for-Women question was heard to say to her father, "'Tain't right for this house to have only one vote. You're the only man we've got. Even the kitten is a girl!"—*Judge.*

Throughout The State

Edited by SARAH J. RUSSELL

THE FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

October 14 to 17, Centenary M. E. Church, Binghamton. Hotel Headquarters—The Bennett.

PREPARATIONS for the State Convention are now nearly completed. Everything promises well for a most successful and helpful gathering of workers in the "Flower City." It is our first visit there and we count upon converting the majority of the people before the week is over.

On the 6th I stopped at Binghamton en route for the State Fair and met the club at the Headquarters. Everyone was enthusiastic over the preliminary work.

Hospitality.

MRS. J. H. ELLETT will provide entertainment or rooms for you, if you write her.

The Parade.

ONE of the new features of this convention will be the parade in charge of Mrs. H. M. Gitchell, on Tuesday, October 14th. The hour set is 6.30 P. M., in order to give the working girls a chance to join us.

Bring Your Banner.

HAVE a white suit if possible. A summer dress will do or a white wash skirt and shirt-waist.

Headquarters.

WE have been obliged to change the headquarters to the Hotel Bennett, as single rooms could not be secured at the Arlington. Either hotel is convenient to the church and comfortable.

The Program.

AT the evening meetings a brilliant array of speakers will present our question. The first night, Miss Leonora O'Reilly will follow the Mayor and several leading citizens of Binghamton. On the second night, Mrs. Seward A. Simons, of Los Angeles, who was very prominent in the state campaign, will tell us what the California women are doing with the vote. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt will close the program.

On the last night, Dr. Shaw will make the principal address.

In addition to this wonderful program at the church, there will be a series of street meetings, while the voiceless speech and moving pictures will be given every day in different sections of the city.

The week will open with a big mass meeting on Sunday addressed by Leonora O'Reilly. From that afternoon until the next Sunday, Binghamton will be alive with suffrage from center to circumference.

We must not forget that the main object of our convention is to plan the campaign.

Campaign Plans.

THE plan of the campaign for victory in 1915 will be presented by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 14th.

It is vital that every worker in the State who can possibly come to Binghamton should be present on that day and so prepare the better for the battle before us.

Assembly District Work.

WE shall welcome this year a large number of Assembly Districts, which have been admitted under the new clause in the constitution. Mrs. Livermore, the chairman, will conduct the conference on this form of work the first morning of the convention.

Changes in the Constitution.

CHANGES in the Constitution will be discussed on Thursday, the day of the election of officers. Every moment will be full of interest, full of work. Come! Come on Monday and stay until Friday noon. Don't miss a meeting or a conference. Come and help win New York State in 1915!

HARRIET MAY MILLS.

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RAILROAD RATES.

A REDUCTION of a fare and three-fifths on the certificate plan from points in New York State has been secured for the State Convention.

1. Tickets for the going journey may be secured not earlier than October 10th nor later than October 15th. Be sure, when purchasing your ticket, to ask for a certificate. *Do not make the mistake of asking for a receipt.*

2. Present yourself at the railroad station for a ticket and certificate at least 30 minutes before departure of train.

Immediately on your arrival at the meeting present your certificate to the endorsing officer, Mrs. Annie E. Merritt.

4. The Special Agent of the Trunk Line Association will be in attendance on October 16th, from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M., to validate the certificates, *and a fee of 25 cents will be charged for each certificate validated.* If you arrive at the meetings and leave for home again prior to the Special Agent's arrival, or if you arrive at the meeting later than Oct. 16th, after the Special Agent has left, you cannot have your certificate validated and consequently you will not get the benefit of the reduction on the home journey. *No refund of fare will be made on account of failure to have certificate validated.*

5. So as to prevent disappointment, it must be understood that the reduction on the return journey is not guaranteed, but is contingent on an attendance at the meeting of not less than 100 persons holding regularly issued certificates obtained from ticket agents at starting points, showing payment of regular full one-way first-class fare of not less than 75 cents on going journey.

ANNIE E. MERRITT,
Chairman Railroad Rates.

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THE STATE FAIR.

EVER since the State Suffrage Association took a tent on the fair grounds at Syracuse, more than ten years ago, we have kept steadily at work dis-

tributing literature and enrolling names. Echoes of the fair have often come to our organizers as they went about through the different counties of the State. Until 1912 the commissioners were always generous and donated the space. But new managers have introduced new methods and space is no longer free. Our chairman, Miss Isabel Howland, selected 1,500 square feet on the main road to the race course. There could not have been a better location, nor a prettier tent than ours. Miss Howland put the details in charge of Miss Florence Roberts, who had electric lights and a telephone put in, filled the space with chairs and tables of literature, trimmed the tent with big banners, small banners and golden rod, hung posters and signs in front and made the place so attractive that many stopped to rest, as well as to enroll under the yellow banner.

On Monday afternoon the chairman of the Woman's Building gave a reception to the State societies. Our association was represented by Mrs. Hendrick S. Holden, Mrs. C. de B. Mills of Syracuse, Mrs. Luther W. Mott of Oswego, Mrs. Alice Clement of Rochester, and Harriet May Mills. Many others were present, including Miss Isabel Howland and Miss Alice Williams.

The best part of the work was the speaking. Great crowds gathered outside the tent, and we kept up a steady succession of speakers every day. It is impossible to estimate the effect of such propaganda, which enabled us to reach thousands of men to whom our question was wholly new.

Rochester day brought seven splendid club workers who took charge of the tent on Tuesday. Mrs. Clement had the voiceless speech, an address inside and another outside the tent all at the same time. The interest never flagged for a moment. On another day the tent was in charge of Tompkins County. Mrs. Owens, Mrs. Calkins and nine others came to work. On that afternoon thirty addresses were made. Among the speakers were Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, president of the State Federation, and Mrs. Ella A. Boole, president of the State W. C. T. U.; Miss Mills, Miss Roberts and Mrs. Owens, Mrs. Calkins, Miss Hageman, and many others, who helped win converts by effective speeches. Men would stand open-mouthed, as if entranced, until our voices were too weary to say more.

One afternoon Miss Emily Howland, with her gentle and strong personality, won every one by her plea at the Woman's big tent, and later at our own headquarters. Mrs. Helen Probst Abbott of Rochester also spoke.

One who has not attended the State Fair at Syracuse can hardly appreciate the size of the crowds and the marvellous opportunity for work there.

This year the days were further enlivened by the presence of the Anti-suffragists. Miss Chittenden was in charge of the tent which hundreds of our workers visited. We fancy her experiences were not altogether pleasant. Questions were put to her from men and women visitors which she was powerless to answer. As for her literature, it was so foolish as to be funny. At her meeting in the Woman's tent, she would not allow a single question, although there were calls for them from the audience.

Too much praise cannot be given to Miss Isabel Howland, Miss Roberts and Miss Alice Williams, who were at the tent every day, or to the many assistants who came from other counties. Miss Mills spent the week in Syracuse and spoke often at the Fair. On the last day she went to Waterloo, where Mrs. James H. Van Cleef, the county president, arranged for the meetings. The president of the Fair, Mr. Lane, introduced the speaker and granted half an hour's time just before the races. Thousands filled the grand-stand and the race-course near the automobile.

Mr. Frank Stevens, of Delaware, has given us efficient aid by speaking at several other Fairs, notably at Middletown and Waterloo.

ERIE COUNTY.

THE Woman Suffrage Club of Buffalo conducted the first suffrage meeting ever held on Grand Island on the last day of August, through the courtesy of Mrs. Clara B. Staley. The members marched from the pier to the grounds of the Bedell House, where speeches were made by the President, Miss Mary Sheridan, and others. There was a large crowd present and much interest in suffrage was shown.

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KINGS COUNTY.

THERE is to be a great Woman Suffrage Parade in Brooklyn, on Saturday, November 1st, starting at 2:30 P. M., from Grant Square. The line of march will end at the Academy of Music, where a mass meeting will be held. The suffrage societies of New York City have promised to co-operate in large numbers, and the near-by States have been invited to send delegations. All suffragists are urged to help in making this, Brooklyn's first parade, a great success.

The women of the Kings County Woman Suffrage Association, and especially Mrs. R. C. Talbot-Perkins and Mrs. Annie E. Merritt, have been holding open-air meetings every Saturday evening all summer, beside many others thrown in. Among other places they have spoken in front of the Public Library at Far Rockaway under the auspices of the Woman Suffrage Club of that place, again at Arverne, at Sea-Side and at Cedarhurst. In this way they keep suffrage doctrines constantly before the people of their section, and always have large and interested audiences.

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ORANGE COUNTY.

IN the face of much opposition and discouragement, Miss Elena Nearing has organized both a Woman Suffrage Society and an Assembly District Club in Middletown. Large public meetings were held, with enthusiastic audiences. The work will go on actively, beginning with a booth at the Orange County Fair, and all the Clubs of the county will assist the Assembly District Club by each taking a definite period of time.

The Middletown Equal Suffrage Club was organized July 31st, with thirty-five members. Mrs. Henry Robinson, of Yonkers, gave a most interesting address.

On July 22d the 2d Assembly District Club was organized, when Mrs. Livermore and Mrs. Osterheld spoke in the evening to an enthusiastic audience. The following officers were elected: Leader, Mrs. William P. Kaufmann, Port Jervis; Vice-Leader, Miss Elena T. Nearing, Middletown; Secretary, Miss Carlie Mallett, Middletown; Treasurer, Miss Nora Roosa, Middletown.

A notable rally was held in Newburgh recently under the auspices of the Assembly District of which Mrs. William Vanamee is the Leader. The large hall was packed to hear Mrs. Osterheld and Mrs. Livermore, the out-of-town speakers. Mrs. Vanamee was chosen Leader of the First District.

Mrs. William Vanamee is using her pen to good purpose for the cause in a series of full-page articles which she is furnishing to the Newburgh Saturday Journal. She often employs some interesting personal sketch to point the moral of suffrage and so reaches thousands of readers who would not be attracted by a purely didactic story.

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QUEENS COUNTY.

THE Far Rockaway Suffrage Club was entertained by Mrs. J. Hedges Crowell at its annual meeting last month. Much work has been done and there are fifty paid-up members, and a goodly balance on hand as a result of one year's activity.

Miss Hilda Hoffman was re-elected President and Mrs. Crowell was made Honorary President.

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RENSSELAER COUNTY.

MISS ELIZABETH M. SMITH, of Albany, President of the Albany club, writes that splendid work was done at the Rensselaer County Fair held in Nas-

sau. Mrs. George Wend loaned her gaily decorated automobile. Mrs. Alexander Castal, Mrs. Deevey and Mr. Milton Wend spoke to the crowds and gave out bags of literature.

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SENECA COUNTY.

MISS HELEN RAYNSFORD, of Rochester, and Mr. Frank Stevens, of Delaware, spoke at the Seneca County Fair in Waterloo, and Miss Mills followed them, addressing a great crowd in front of the band stand on the last day.

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SUFFOLK COUNTY.

TO Miss Portia Willis' tireless energy is due the organizing of the election districts of the county and the securing of captains in five of the towns: Sayville, Patchogue, Blue Point, Bellport and Bayport. The captains are members of a Board of which Mrs. H. Allen Tenney, of Patchogue, is Chairman, and they have met and laid out plans for the winter's work.

The Huntington Political Equality League has pledged itself to do each year some one thing for the good of the community, outside of the regular suffrage work of the Club. This year the effort to help others took the form of a Pure Food Show, given in the theatre for two days last month. It was a great success, the hall being filled each day; all the booths were rented, and $150 taken in besides, and this although the aim was not to make money, but to give an educational exhibit. Everybody in the town lent everything asked for, and in return were given lectures on "New Housekeeping" and "Farming for Women," "The Fly," "Alcohol in Heredity" and "The Press." One attractive feature for all the women visitors was the up-to-date kitchen, where food was cooked for the crowd. This was only rivaled by the children's booth. The women of the Club, elated by their great success, plan to hold another such exhibit next year.

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WARREN COUNTY.

MISS MUNSELL, of Albany, who has a summer place at Adirondack, writes that the young people had a parade there, using the banners and decorations which she supplied.

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WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

THE Tarrytown Equal Franchise Association is a young club, but has done a good deal of quiet work locally.

It was formed last October at a large meeting held at the home of Mrs. Edward Harden, under the auspices of the Hudson River League, and the Tarrytown Club looks upon Mrs. Henry Villard as its god-mother.

The first President of the Association, Mrs. Charles Judson Gould, is now Honorary President. The Acting President is Mrs. H. A. Grant, who was elected last March. The club has seventy-six paying members and in addition to these, one hundred and sixty-five enrolled members. Besides the regular business meetings the Association has had two addresses made between films at the Moving Picture Theatre, one by Mrs. Jessie H. Stubbs and one by Senator Helen Ring Robinson of Colorado. Several teas have been held at the largest of which Miss Harriet May Mills spoke. A large bridge party was also given, and the Voiceless Speech has been heard (?) once.

A steady campaign is planned to go forward from now on to 1915.

The Fourth Assembly District was recently addressed by Mrs. Osterheld and Mrs. Livermore, at Lake Mohegan. Mrs. Osterheld reports that "the large hall was crowded, and with an unusual audience." The District was organized at Rye and Mrs. Child was chosen Leader.

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WASHINGTON COUNTY.

THE enterprising Easton Club has opened an ice cream parlor which is proving most successful. Suffrage posters and literature with window placards attract much attention and make many converts.

WYOMING COUNTY.

WOMAN'S DAY at Silver Creek Assembly was in charge of the County President, Mrs. Ballantine, and Mrs. Ella H. Crossett. The chief speaker was Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, President of Erie County. A memorial fund to Mrs. Laura Sprague Brooks is being raised in Wyoming and has reached $75. This will be spent in suffrage work throughout the county.

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SUFFRAGISTS TO CONVERT FAIRGOERS.

THE suffragists of Kings, Queens, Nassau and Suffolk Counties will have a booth at the annual Queens-Nassau County Fair at Mineola, September 23d to 27th inclusive. While prominent speakers are holding forth out of doors on the green, back of the main Exhibition Hall, saleswomen and earnest workers will sell yellow novelties and answer questions from the attractive booth in the midst of the floral exhibit.

Mrs. W. R. Kearns of the Fair Committee of the New York State Association has arranged the following program and invited all Long Island clubs to help convert these thousands of pleasure seekers.

Monday, September 22d, 3 P. M. Committee of suffragists meet to decorate booth.

Tuesday, September 23d, opening day. Queens County clubs, in charge of Mrs. Cora Perry Hamilton, of Jamaica.

Wednesday, September 24th. Suffolk County clubs, under Mrs. Edgar A. Sammis, of Huntington.

Thursday, September 25th. Nassau South Side clubs and Kings County clubs under Miss Davison of East Rockaway, and Mrs. Talbot-Perkins of Brooklyn.

Friday, September 26th. General Jones' Hikers, Ida Craft's Walking Club, Elizabeth Freeman's Caravaners.

Saturday, September 27th. North Shore and Central Nassau clubs, under Miss Elizabeth Lewis, of Hempstead. Mrs. Lewis, of Hempstead, will take charge of reports.

The old 1776 wagon used in Long Island campaign by Mrs. Kearns will be used this time by the State President, as a rostrum.

THE HOUSE OF THANE.

The House of Thane, by Elizabeth Dejeans. Published by J. P. Lippincott, Philadelphia. Price, $1.25 net.

THE HOUSE OF THANE is the story of a man who had one compelling idea to which he made every relationship of life subservient. It was to found a great house which should bear his name to the future generations. "The only *real* thing that has made money worth while the getting to me, was to build up my house, 'The House of Thane' I called it to myself, a sort of kingdom of my own. The more I made, the more solid a house I could build—the more I would have to pass on to my own flesh and blood."

This is not an unusual ambition, but as Mrs. Dejeans tells the tale, the egotism and selfishness of John Thane seems colossal. There could be no more compelling picture of the position of woman under such a dominating idea, for both with his wife and with the young girl who was his mistress, he had no thought except that they existed to live through him and his desires.

In one of the chapters, which has already attracted considerable comment, there is a vivid description of the life of a chambermaid in an average American hotel. Regarding this picture of how they are overworked, underpaid, herded into unsanitary rooms and subjected constantly to moral dangers from unscrupulous guests, Mrs. Dejeans says in an interview:

"It has been my lot to sojourn much in hotels. The conditions I describe are not unusual. I have never lived any length of time in any hotel that I have not made the acquaintance of its chambermaids, heard their histories, have seen their quarters and their food. We have heard much about conditions in our factories, let us learn a little now about our American palaces, our hotels. My little Mary Kelly speaks the truth when she says, 'They take better care of their bus-horses than they do of us.'"

THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY.

Published by The Civics Society, Chicago. Popular Edition, $8.50. *De Luxe,* $12.50 *to* $19.50.

The growth of suffrage is evinced by the many books which make an appeal to suffragists. One publishing company has crowned such efforts by offering to the public *The Woman Citizen's Library,* a comprehensive group of articles, which aim to prepare women for the larger citizenship. Practical Politics, Woman Suffrage, Public Health, The City Beautiful, Child Labor and Juvenile Protection, Factory Inspection and Prison Reforms, Peace and Eugenics are but a fraction of the subjects discussed. Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. Carrie C. Catt, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Mrs. Raymond Robins, Owen R. Lovejoy, and Dean Walter T. Sumner are but a few of the distinguished contributors.

In the introduction the editor says:

"Epochs begin with the extension of rights. . . . This new epoch promises to be more significant and more filled with change than any of those other great periods which have marked the extension of civil liberties. When one thinks of the changes that followed the abolition of slavery in America, the extension of education to a nation's children, and before that, the organization of a state in which there should be political equality for all its citizens, it is hard to imagine those other changes which must result in state, families, and social intercourse when women come to enjoy equal opportunity in the world of industry and politics. No institution in our complicated society will escape change in this new Age of Women. What steam did to an age of hand labor and electricity to an age of steam, the woman worker and the woman citizen will do to a civilization built up about the inherited belief in man's superiority.

"After all politics is something more than glittering generalities. The State is as real as the people who compose it. The duties of citizenship are as definite as the duties of housekeeping. Only as these self-evident facts are fully appreciated will women be able to accomplish those many and splendid reforms on which the hearts of their leaders are set. To this end they ought to study politics. They ought to know something of the great struggle through which Democracy has arisen and has gradually extended its duties and privileges. They ought to know how the nation, how a State, how a city, how even a little town or a ward is governed. More than that, they ought to enter into the conception of that larger citizenship into which the world as a whole is now entering."

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HOW WASHINGTON WOMEN ELECTED A GOVERNOR.

We may say what we please as to our doubts of woman's practical political worth, but the real facts remain and that is wherever women have thrown themselves into a political campaign, they have generally won out against the craftiest of politicians to the entire discomfiture of these vampires. In the *Pictorial Review* for August is told how they elected Governor Lister.

"Ernest Lister was an iron manufacturer. He was a man of the finest personality, of great efficiency, and his home life was ideal. He was in no sense a politician, but under former Governor John R. Rogers he had had charge of the State's finances as a member of the Board of Control of Public Institutions and Expenditures. Governor Rogers' administration is without question the best Washington ever had. The success of it was largely due to the system of efficiency introduced into the State's affairs by Ernest Lister. The latter fought extravagant expenditures, instituted sound business methods and saved the State from bankruptcy. When Governor Rogers took office, Washington State warrants were quoted at sixty-five dollars on the hundred. When he relinquished the office, State warrants were selling at above par. This change in State credit was due to Ernest Lister's efficient business methods.

"Unfortunately for Lister's chances, however, he was an eleventh-hour candidate. At the Democratic primaries, Lister ran second, being beaten by Judge Black, who accordingly became the party nominee. After the campaign had been in progress for some time, Judge Black was declared ineligible by the State Supreme Court, and Lister was placed on the ticket. This was about three weeks before election day. With such a handicap, no one dreamed that he could be elected.

"The majority of the male voters true to the principles that they had inherited from their fathers, stuck to their parties, regardless of political scandals or anything else. The women, never having inherited any political principles at all, made up their own. What they wanted was a clean, efficient Governor. They cared nothing about the party label he bore. Accordingly they turned to Lister by the thousand. They got out non-partisan circulars signed by women of all the parties, asking support for Lister. They held great mass meetings where prominent citizens who thought more of efficiency than of party labels urged Lister's merits. Never have we anywhere attended a political meeting that for earnestness, cleanness and high tone equaled those Lister meetings. All reference to scandals in the other parties was taboo. Mr. Lister's sole plea was that of efficiency, independence, honesty. A lecture at Carnegie Hall could not have been more dignified or cleaner. Such meetings mean something for the future of American politics. In the entire State of Washington, not one newspaper backed Lister. But the women never faltered. By the same methods they had employed to elect other desirable men, they got voters into line for Lister. When the final tally was made, Ernest Lister was found to be elected Governor of the State of Washington.

"Throughout the ticket the same scratching was in evidence. The State carried overwhelmingly for Roosevelt; yet Mrs. Josephine C. Preston, a Republican, was elected State Superintendent of Instruction. For twenty years she had been engaged in educational work in Washington, raising grade by grade, from a position as teacher in a country school. In 1908 she was elected Superintendent of Walla Walla County, and her administration was so efficient that after her re-election in 1910 she was a logical candidate for the State Superintendency in 1912. Mrs. Helen J. Scott of Tacoma, who had long been active in civic affairs, was chosen as a Presidential elector on the Progressive ticket, thus being one of the three women chosen last Fall as Presidential electors. These were the first women ever elected to this office. Dr. Nena Jolidon Croake of Tacoma was elected to the Legislature on the Progressive ticket and Mrs. Frances C. Axtell of Bellingham was elected to the Legislature on the Republican ticket. Agnes Naley, a candidate for the Governorship on the Socialist ticket, polled 40,000 votes."

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CHIVALRY.

"WHAT does 'chivalry' do for woman? Sends her to the sweatshop or to the streets. Beats down her wages, after forcing her to work. Denies her social redemption when she falls, but forgives the man who brings about her fall. Chivalry only glamours woman's slavery."—WILLIAM MARION REEDY, *St. Louis Mirror.*

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Said a cheerful old bear at the Zoo:
"I never have time to feel blue.
If it bores me, you know,
To walk to and fro,
I reverse it and walk fro and to."

Century.

The Woman Suffrage Party

AT the State Convention in Carnegie Hall, September 23rd, the Republican Party reaffirmed the Saratoga Platform of 1912, which contained a woman suffrage plank. Thus they went on record again as favoring the submission of a woman suffrage amendment in 1915.

POLITICAL WORK.

THIS year is in New York State an off year, politically, but that does not mean that there is not a great deal of quiet, astute political work to be done. A great deal has been done this fall in different Assembly Districts. That we are equipped to keep up work of this kind is shown by the great force of workers which we were enabled to call out in August for the designation meetings. We have always followed political parties step by step, always watchful wherever they were meeting or conferring or convening; increasing the good fellowship between the party organization and political organization by frequent presence at balls, entertainments, picnics, and other festivities. We have felt that it was not enough to do our political work when we were absolutely driven by a crucial situation. For instance, last year the political work in New York State was imperative, and next year it will be; but such is the vitality and alertness of the Woman Suffrage Party organization, that it can afford to expend a little extra strength, even when the need is not imminent. We feel that it is well to appear before political clubs, designation meetings, conventions on all occasions. It is well to appear in our less strenuous moods when we are not too importunate. In many districts before the designation meetings, well-known politicians met our workers and said, with quite a cheerful aspect, "Are we going to see you this year?" or, "We hope you will be on hand again," or, "We are getting so we like to hear from the suffragists."

As reports have come in from the different Assembly Districts of the courtesy and cordiality with which the district leaders were greeted, we began to hope that a ground work of really friendly cooperation has been laid. Last year, as a party, we covered very few designation meetings, but the city was pretty well covered with the usual yellow appeal. This year it was covered as never before, more thousands of the appeal being printed and distributed than in any previous year. Of course, these appeals simply emphasize an opportunity of submitting the question to the voters, but, nevertheless, they are advertisement and to a certain extent propaganda. While our visits to the designation meetings had not the significance that it will have next year, it was very useful, if for no other reason than to call out the comment in different Assembly Districts in more or less elegant forms of expression, "Well, you women are always on the job."

THE SUFFRAGE SHOP.

THE Shop Chairman desires to ring a bell to awaken the Associated Cake Bakers of the Cake Chain. New York City is fast filling up with returning vacationists. They are bringing good appetites with them. We must have our cake cupboard full when they come to buy. Choose one day every month upon which you will make a cake for Suffrage, and deliver it to the shop. It is good Suffrage work. Send your name and your chosen date to Headquarters.

THE SUFFRAGE SCHOOL.

A STRIKING illustration of the newer methods and modern desire for efficiency was found in the Suffrage School, which was held in New York from September 15th to 27th. Planned originally to meet the needs of a small group of workers in the New York campaign, the scope of the School was extended when one hundred and fifty students, representing seventeen States, presented themselves for enrollment.

Mrs. Catt, who originated the plan and directed the School, had no intention of letting it become a mere series of intellectual treats in the form of lectures. It was a working group that met daily in the rooms of the Equal Franchise Society, with recitations, reports, discussions and opportunity for practice work.

The course consisted in *Organization*, by Miss Hay; *Constitutional and Political History*, by Mrs. Catt; *The History of Woman Suffrage*, by Mrs. Clarkson; *Parliamentary Procedure*, by Miss Rhodes; *Suffrage Arguments*, by Miss Mills; *Press Work*, by Miss Hauser, and *Voice Culture* and *Public Speaking*, Miss Long and Mrs. Hale.

The evening sessions were devoted to talks upon political, social and historical subjects, as follows:

WOMEN SOCIAL WORKERS: Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Chair of Ethics, Meadville Theological Seminary.

WOULD THE VOTE INCREASE THE EFFICIENCY OF SOCIAL WORKERS: Miss Frances Kellor, Chief of Service, Progressive National Committee.

WOMAN'S PLACE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION: Miss Lina Gano, Wadleigh High School.

EDUCATION AND POLITICS: Miss Katharine Blake, Principal Public School No. 6.

American Women Wage Earners: Mrs. Raymond Robins, President National Women's Trade Union League.
Votes for Women Workers: Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch, Superintendent Greenwich House.
How the Vote Could Improve New York: Benjamin C. Marsh, Executive Secretary New York Congestion Committee.
The Status of New York Women Under the Law: Harriette Johnston Wood, Practicing Attorney.
The History and Ideals of the Democratic Party: Hon. Charles A. Towne.
The Franchise in Greece and Rome: John Crosby, Attorney.
The History and Ideals of the Rebublican Party: William S. Bennett, Ex-Congressman.
Man Suffrage in Europe: Frederic C. Howe, Director People's Institute.
The History and Ideals of the Socialist Party: English Walling.
Man Suffrage in America: William H. Wood, Attorney.
The History and Ideals of the Prohibition Party: Professor Laswell.
The Anti-Suffrage Position: Carrie Chapman Catt.
The History and Ideals of the Progressive Party: Bainbridge Colby.
The Psychology of an Audience: Dr. Anna H. Shaw, President National-American Woman Suffrage Association.
Women of the Underworld: Dr. Katharine Bement Davis, Superintendent Bedford Reformatory.
How Votes Could Help: Miss Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago.

Members of the School enjoyed a number of social festivities and those from out of town were able to see something of New York City. As an experiment, the venture was successful beyond all expectations, and there is no doubt that the plan will be followed in other places. Since the ultimate victory of the movement rests with the workers, everything that will enhance personal efficiency is to be desired, and that is what the School aimed for—and accomplished.

MAKING ENROLLMENTS COUNT.

WE are very fortunate in our new leader of the 6th Assembly District, Mrs. Esther Lerner. She is a well-known resident of her district, much loved and respected. She has been cooperating splendidly with the work of Miss Dock throughout that section of the city. In her own district she has, with almost unprecedented zeal, thrown herself into the work of converting and enrolling the residents of the districts.

At our September City Committee meeting she came to the Borough Chairman with a large, heavy cubic package, and with the announcement, "These are the new enrollments which I have gathered in the last five weeks." *There were 2,300 of them!* They represented the most sincere kind of propaganda work, personal interviews, street meetings and earnest argumentation on the subject. With such work as that duplicated in every district in Greater New York by the leaders, captains and workers, our party ideal of converting the majority of voters to suffrage would be realized, and victory in 1915 would be assured.

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT NOTES.

Edited by ADALINE W. STERLING

MANHATTAN.

1st Assembly District.

During the month past the district has held a large meeting at noon at Broad and Wall Streets, and two afternoon meetings in City Hall Park. Speakers at these meetings were Mrs. F. M. Björkman and Miss Smith from National Headquarters, Mr. J. J. Cabonel, Miss Sara McPike and Miss Maggie Hinchey. Good audiences have attended all the meetings.

2d Assembly District.

Eight street meetings have been held in this district during September. Mrs. Lottie Levine and Mrs. Rosen have led the Jewish meetings. Miss Maggie Hinchey and Miss Leonora O'Reilly have had charge of the English meetings.

3d Assembly District

Alternate weekly meetings have been held at 10th and 2d Streets and at 14th Street and Fourth Avenue. Mr. Richard Boyajian, a brilliant young speaker, has helped to make these meetings very successful. Miss Dock, Misses Agnes and S. B. Forthal have also been among the speakers.

4th Assembly District.

Four street meetings is the record of the month in this district. Three of the four meetings were held at the same place on Grand Street. A number of volunteer speakers have added greatly to the success and interest of these meetings; among them were Messrs. Richard Boyajian, Harry Levinthal, Harry Schneider and Melvin Yonansky.

6th Assembly District.

The leader of the district announces with pleasure and pride that 2,300 enrollments have been collected in six weeks' time. Meetings in English and Jewish have been held at E. Houston Street and Avenue C, at Stanton and Sheriff Streets, and at Avenue C and 7th Street. At the latter place several members of the Progressive Club made suffrage speeches. The delegations from the district to the designation committee meetings were well received, and in every instance the proceedings were informal and friendly. The district proposes to hold a meeting, if possible, every Tuesday evening, alternating between Avenue C and 7th Street and Avenue C and 4th Street.

8th Assembly District.

A ball will be given at Clinton Hall, 151 Clinton Street, on October 25th, under the joint auspices of the 2d, 4th and 8th Assembly Districts. Tickets at twenty-five cents each may be obtained from the leaders or district members and the proceeds will be devoted to the suffrage work of the three districts.

13th Assembly District.

A musical soirée will be given early this month by Miss Marion Swinton, in her studio in the Van Dyck Studio Building, for the benefit of the International Non-Partisan Suffrage League, of which Miss Marguerite Cecilia Gaffney is president, and Miss Swinton, treasurer. The following artists have contributed their services: Mr. Arthur Gollnik, 'cello virtuoso; Mr. Philippe Coudert, baritone; Miss Rockhill, soprano, and Miss Esther Frances Gaffney, pianist. Among those who will assist the hostess are Mrs. John Sherwin Crosby, Mrs. Russell Law, Mrs. Grinnell Burt, Mrs. H. W. Gilson, Mrs. Harry C. Allyn and Mrs. James Moran.

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VICTORY 1915

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14th Assembly District.

As so many of the workers were out of town, no work was attempted in the 14th Assembly District last month except the covering of the designation meetings. The representatives of the Party were received with great courtesy by the Progressives and Republicans. These two parties decided to fuse and the Republicans accepted the Republican candidate for the Assembly, Mr. Fred. P. Beaudry, who last year pledged himself to the submission of the Suffrage Amendment to the people. As the Democrats of the district have so often refused to admit any suffrage speaker to their meetings, they were not asked to on this occasion, but the printed appeals were distributed at the door of the Club house on the evening of the designation meeting. These were courteously received by the members and some manifested considerable interest in them.

19th Assembly District.

The district has continued its summer activities during the past month, holding two meetings a week when weather permitted, on Mondays at 110th Street and Broadway, and on Saturdays at 117th Street and Seventh Avenue. These meetings have been largely attended, and among the speakers have been Mrs. Frances M. Björkman, Mrs. Julia Reinhardt, Mrs. J. Wells Wentworth, Judge John Sherwin Crosby, Miss Katharine D. Blake, Miss Annie Doughty, Mrs. Kate Morris, Dr. E. H. Knight, and the leader, Miss A. W. Sterling. Regular street meetings will be held on Mondays and Saturdays throughout the month.

21st Assembly District.

The leader of the district, Mrs. Gardner Hirons, has held successful meetings every Wednesday evening at 139th Street and Seventh Avenue. Mrs. Sims has held meetings for colored suffragists and anti-suffragists at Lenox Avenue and 134th Street. A number of enrollments were taken at each meeting, VOTERS sold and literature distributed. Other meetings have been held on Tuesday evenings at 137th Street and Broadway. The regular monthly meeting of the district was held at the home of the leader on September 8th, and a musical was planned for the last week of October at the residence of Miss Gaffney, 604 Riverside Drive.

22d Assembly District.

A street meeting was held at the corner of East End Avenue and 86th Street, on Wednesday, September 10th, at 8.30 P. M. The leader of the district, Mrs. Eleonore F. Hahn, presided and introduced Miss Dock and Miss Klatschken.. So forceful and effective were the arguments and the logic of these enthusiastic workers that many who came to jeer remained to hear.

27th Assembly District.

The secretary, Mrs. Hughston, reports street meetings every Monday night at 45th Street and Broadway, with large crowds in attendance, great interest, many enrollments and big collections. Judge Crosby, Miss Katharine Blake, and Mr. Edwin Perry have been among the speakers.

29th Assembly District.

Owing to the great exodus of residents from our district in the summer, activities are reduced to a minimum in that season. Plans for winter are already well under way, and they are most comprehensive. For Sunday afternoons, as far as possible, during the winter. it is our plan to conduct informal suffrage teas. These will be given by the members of the 29th Assembly District in their own homes, and will be in no way different from the usual tea-drinking affairs of Sunday, except that a suffrage speaker will be introduced and allowed to instruct the audience in the reasons for "Votes for Women." The choosing of Sunday as an appropriate day is for the reason that on that day above others the men of the district will be able to attend a suffrage function.

Besides the teas, our regular monthly meetings will occur as usual on the first Monday of each month at 627 Madison Avenue, at 8 P. M.

Also we shall have the regular monthly meetings of the Good Government Club, which is the District Suffrage Club, at the Hotel Plaza, on the third Wednesdays, at 3 P. M., beginning with October.

Other special features of the winter's work will be announced later.

We have sent out an appeal for donations for headquarters, and will try to make the 29th of the month, our Headquarter's Day, in some way a lively and profitable day at 48 E. 34th Street.

BROOKLYN.

10th Assembly District.

Meetings in the district the past month have been outdoor gatherings and have been very well attended. The places for holding the meetings have been Flatbush and Seventh Avenues, Washington Park, and St. Marks and Washington Avenues. Street meetings will be continued as long as weather permits.

16th Assembly District.

During the summer street meetings were held in the several election districts with good results. The designation committee meetings were covered by the leader, Mrs. Krecker, and the second vice-leader, Mrs. Lloyd.

18th Assembly District.

A meeting was held at the home of the leader, Mrs. Frank C. Baker, on September 18th, at which plans for the winter's work were discussed. Mrs. Edward Dreier, Borough Chairman, was present and addressed the meeting. On the 19th the First Club of the district met at the home of Mrs. Philip Comstock to plan the club work for the winter. The Second District Club held its meeting on September 29th, at the residence of the secretary, Mrs. Helen D. Winchester, 1054 Sterling Place. The object of the meeting was to open seventy-nine mite boxes, to appropriate $20 for the open air meetings that have been held through the summer, and to make arrangements for a mass meeting this month. The summer meetings have averaged two and three a week and have been productive of excellent results.

BRONX.

34th District.

During September the district has held a series of open air meetings at Crotona Park, McKinley Square, Wendover Avenue, Washington Avenue and other localities. A large number of voters has been reached through these meetings, literature has been distributed and suffrage seed sown. Open air meetings will continue as long as weather permits.

RICHMOND.

THE Woman Suffrage Party opened a tent at Dongan Hills for the five days of the County Fair, August 27th to September 1st. The tent was lent to the Party by a local company of Boy Scouts. It was draped with suffrage yellow and all a-flutter with Votes for Women pennants and American flags.

Every afternoon the crowd lingered to listen to able speakers, three of whom spoke simultaneously, but far distant from each other. About 3,000 pieces of literature were given away and 150 VOTERS sold; 387 Party enrollments were also taken, and buttons, roses and pennants were succesfully disposed of.

On Saturday, August 20th, a carnival was held at Tottenville, in which the leader of the district rode in an automobile decorated with suffrage colors, distributing suffrage literature and taking signatures.

On Labor Day, in the same machine, the leader attended three large outdoor picnics, at which she made suffrage addresses.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY CALENDAR FOR OCTOBER.

As the calendar is made up some time in advance of the meetings, they are subject to unavoidable changes by the leaders.

A GREAT PARADE FOR BROOKLYN.

BROOKLYN is to have its first suffrage parade on Saturday afternoon, November 1st. The parade will start from Grant Square and end with a mass meeting where Dr. Anna H. Shaw, who has announced her intention of marching, and Comptroller Prendergast will speak. The location of the meeting will be announced later.

The Woman Suffrage Party of Brooklyn Borough, which planned the parade, invited the other Brooklyn organizations to join, and a cooperative parade committee was formed with the following officers and representatives: Chairman, Mrs. Frank H. Cothren; Secretary, Mr. R. C. Beadle; Treasurer, Mrs. Annie Merritt. Woman Suffrage Party: Mrs. H. Edward Dreier, Mrs. Frank H. Cothren. Women's Political Union: Miss Beatrice Brown, Mrs. W. G. Wood. King's County Association: Mrs. R. C. Talbot-Perkins, Mrs. Annie Merritt. Men's League: Mr. R. C. Beadle, Mr. J. P. Coughlin.

It is hoped that large delegations from other boroughs will march. The Woman Suffrage Party of Manhattan, Bronx and Queens will form at Atlantic Avenue, east of Bedford Avenue, at 2:30. Enrollment slips may be obtained at 48 East 34th Street, New York, or at 27 Lafayette Avenue, Brooklyn; also at Abraham & Straus' and Namm's stores, two weeks before the parade.

Brooklyn has hundreds of people in the outlying districts who never have seen a suffrage parade. Come and help us give a demonstration that will impress and win them to the cause of equal suffrage.

Oct. 1st.—Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 139th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 10th Assembly District. Street meeting, Flatbush and Seventh Avenues. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 122d Street and Amsterdam Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Oct. 2d.—Manhattan, 17th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 96th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Queens, 4th Assembly District. Flushing Equal Franchise Society. 3 P. M. League Building.

Queens, 4th Assembly District, Jamaica Suffrage Club, 48 Union Avenue. 8 P. M. Speaker, Mrs. Martha Wentworth Suffren.

Oct. 3d.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 145th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Oct. 4th.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, 181st Street and St. Nicholas Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 11th Assembly District. Street meeting, Sterling Place and Bedford Avenue. 8 P. M.

Oct. 4th.—Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 117th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Richmond. Street meeting, Great Kills. 3 P. M. Pleasant Plains, 3:45 P. M. Giffords, 4:30 P. M. West New Brighton, Broadway, 8 P. M. Port Richmond, foot of Richmond Avenue, 9 P. M.

Oct. 6th.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 157th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 45th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Seventh Avenue and 125th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 110th Street and Broadway. 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 25th Assembly District. Regular captain's meeting, Woman's Suffrage Party Headquarters. 8 P. M.

Oct. 7th.—Mt. Vernon, Political Equality League. Street meeting. 3 P. M.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 137th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 11th Assembly District. Street meeting, Dean Street and Bedford Avenue. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Captain's meeting, 195 Claremont Avenue. 8 P. M.

Oct. 8th.—Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 139th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 10th Assembly District. Street meeting, Carlton Avenue and Fulton Street. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 114th Street and Broadway. 8:30 P. M.

Oct. 9th.—Manhattan, 17th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 96th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Queens, 4th Assembly District. Hollis Suffrage Club at Mrs. Bodine's residence, Farmers Avenue. 3:30 P. M.

Oct. 10th.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 145th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 11th Assembly District. Business meeting, 202 Lefferts Place. 8 P. M.

Oct. 11th.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, 181st Street and St. Nicholas Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, 181st Street and St. Nicholas Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 11th Assembly District. Street meeting, Madison Street and Bedford Avenue. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 117th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Richmond. Street meetings: New Dorp, 3:45 P. M. Concord, 4:30 P. M. Mariner's Harbor, Graniteville, 9 P. M.

Oct. 13th.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 157th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 45th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 31st Assembly District. Street meeting, Seventh Avenue and 125th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 110th Street and Broadway. 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 25th Assembly District. Street meeting, southeast corner of Union Square.

Oct. 14th.—Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 137th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 11th Assembly District. Street meeting, Myrtle and Grand Avenues.

Queens, 4th Assembly District. Bayside Suffrage Club. 3 P. M.

Oct. 15th.—Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 139th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 10th Assembly District. Street meeting, Atlantic and Fourth Avenues. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 114th Street and Broadway. 8:30 P. M.

Oct. 16th.—Manhattan, 17th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 96th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Oct. 17th.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 145th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Oct. 18.—Richmond. Street meetings: Linoleumville, 3 P. M. Chelsea, 3:45 P. M. Four Corners, 4:30 P. M. West New Brighton, Broadway and Constitution Avenue. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, 181st Street and St. Nicholas Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 11th Assembly District. Street meeting, Green and Bedford Avenues. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 117th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Oct. 20th.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 157th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 45th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 31st Assembly District. Street meeting, Seventh Avenue and 125th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 110th Street and Broadway. 8:30 P. M.

Oct. 21st.—Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 137th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 11th Assembly District. Street meeting, Myrtle and Kent Ayenue. 8 P. M. P. M.

Oct. 22d.—Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 139th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 10th Assembly District. Street meeting, Willoughby Avenue and Ryerson Street. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 122d Street and Amsterdam Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Oct. 23d.—Manhattan, 17th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 96th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Oct. 24th.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 145th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Oct. 25th.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, 181st Street and St. Nicholas Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 11th Assembly District. Street meeting, DeKalb and Classon Avenues. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 117th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Richmond. Street meetings: Tottenville, 3:30 P. M. Kruscherville, 4:30 P. M. Stapleton Park, 9 P. M. Tompkinsville Square, 8 P. M.

Oct. 26th.– Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 157th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Oct. 27th.– Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Street meeting, 45th Street and Broadway. 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, 181st Street and St. Nicholas Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 31st Assembly District. Street meeting, Seventh Avenue and 125th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 110th Street and Broadway. 8:30 P. M.

Oct. 28th.—Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 137th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 11th Assembly District. Street meeting, Sterling Place and Bedford Avenue. 8 P. M.

Oct. 29th.—Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 139th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 10th Assembly District. Street meeting, Vanderbilt and Gates Avenues. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 114th Street and Broadway. 8:30 P. M.

Oct. 30th.—Manhattan, 17th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 96th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Oct. 31st.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 145th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 122d Street and Amsterdam Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

♣ ♣ ♣

"THE stock objections to the suffrage of women are mainly of a trivial and sentimental nature, and have all been disposed of by the women themselves and by the experience of countries where women vote."—PROFESSOR W. I. THOMAS.

♣ ♣ ♣

"NOTHING since the coming of Christ ever promised so much for the ultimate good of the human race as the political emancipation of woman."—REV. CHARLES AKED.

♣ ♣ ♣

"MY immediate reason for favoring the enfranchisement of women is that the most serious problems of the present day are industrial, and our whole industrial system is affected by the employment of women and children."—OWEN R. LOVEJOY, Secretary National Child Labor Committee.

"WE HATE TO DO IT—BUT"

ONLY two lively incidents occurred in connection with the Thursday evening lecture of the suffrage school course. Miss Alice Hill Chittenden was greeted by the largest audience of the week. In stating the Anti-suffrage position she took the defensive, as is perhaps inevitable, and most of her address was simply a collection of answers to purported statements of suffragists.

But to get to the "dramatics!" At the close of Miss Chittenden's address Mrs. Marie Jenne Howe asked whether Miss Chittenden would not clear up the often repeated assertion that there is some alliance between the Anti-suffragists and the liquor dealers. After good-naturedly establishing Mrs. Howe's right to ask the question (Miss Chittenden having requested that only enrolled students of the school be permitted to share in the quiz) the speaker said that she was very glad it had been asked and proceeded to answer it by reading a printed document from the United States Brewers' Association, in which all connection with the Anti-suffragists, including any contributions, direct or indirect, was disclaimed. The document further quoted Mr. Percy L. Andrae as charging the defeat of woman suffrage in Ohio last year to the Anti-Saloon League.

Up rose Miss Zara du Pont of Cleveland and said: "Last summer a retail liquor dealer in Cleveland told me in the presence of two witnesses, one a woman doctor, the other the editor of a newspaper, that the saloonkeepers had been asked for funds by the local Anti-suffragists and had contributed because they thought they ought to."

Then Elizabeth J. Hauser paid a tribute to Mr. Andrae as a much cleverer man than the officers of the German American Alliance in Ohio for, said she, "at the annual meeting of the alliance, held a few weeks after the election last year, Mr. John Schwab of Cincinnati, its president, boasted the defeat of the suffrage amendment as one of the achievements of the alliance."

To this Miss Chittenden replied: "We thought we defeated the amendment in Ohio," and Miss Hauser said: "We know who did it, Miss Chittenden, and we don't blame you for it."

Then Miss Clara Schlingheyde said she had a "curious" thing to relate about California and, "naming names," told of a contribution to the Anti-suffragists of $1,000 by the agent of a large champagne company, himself known to be a man of very moderate means.

The second incident occurred when Mrs. Catt carried to its logical conclusion Miss Chittenden's statement that the vote had been of no benefit to the working man and is of no present use to him—and left him disfranchised. Then Miss Chittenden became alarmed and gave the vote back to him, but obviously only because he already has it.

CURRENT COMMENT.

THE ETERNAL SCHOOLMA'AM.

A TRAINING school for suffrage workers has been opened in New York City, where instruction in such frivolous things as the constitutional and political history of nation and state, the history of woman suffrage, parliamentary practice, organization, money raising, press work, voice culture, public speaking and suffrage arguments may be obtained. Here we observe the eternal schoolma'am at work, with her pedagogic impulses unchecked. All this when the ladies might lead such beautiful and blissful lives dawdling over fancy work.—OREOLA W. HASKELL, in *Judge*.

DEMOCRACY IN WYOMING.

THE men and the women are working together for Wyoming. That commonwealth is still far from perfect. Not until our common human nature is altered shall we have a perfect commonwealth. But the visitor to Wyoming instinctively feels a difference in the atmosphere. In all that you see there is evident this cooperation of the sexes. Wyoming may justly be compared to a big family. What the care and protection of a strong man are to his wife, what her love and devotion are to her husband, the mutual good-will and cooperation of the men and women of Wyoming are to one another.—LEWIS E. and MARY B. THEISS in the *Pictorial Review* for September.

THE WOMEN AT ARMAGEDDON.

MADAME VERONE'S high moment of triumph was when, after tracing the existence of certain unjust laws against women and prostitutes, she protested against the slighting term of "girl-mothers," and said: *"There are no girl-mothers—there are only mothers."*

Consider what this applause meant. Only a little while ago good women had no sympathy for the girl-mother, nor might her shadow fall across the threshold of decent doors. But in this applause it was as if on the faces of this great mass of women from all over the earth one could see the sacred fire of indignation. It was as though this indignation had been smouldering and smouldering through the centuries in the silence of every woman's heart. Not only for this, but for all these wrongs from commercialized vice on to industrial injustice, and that here at last fire had been added to fire, until one had at last something like the sacred and imperishable fire than in former times has broken through the superstition of ages and freed slaves. And for a moment the audience would be transformed and one was in the presence of a splendid fighting army to whom all things are possible. In the face of the white-hot intensity of this emotion it seemed impossible to believe that in the history of the world men and women had never before banded themselves together to say to the slavery of prostitution, as to other slaveries, "You shall not be."

* * * * * * * * * *

THIS whole women's movement is not a battle for a mere ballot. These women were here not only to demand political recognition, but to protest against all unjust conditions under which the women of all ages have labored. When you think of the woman's movement, therefore, do not let your mind dwell on the question of mere franchise, but loose your imagination until it beholds the women of the whole world engaged in a battle with world-old injustice; until you see that this movement is already, for one thing, a flaming, onmarching battle against commercialized vice.—MARY HEATON VORCE in *The Metropolitan Magazine*.

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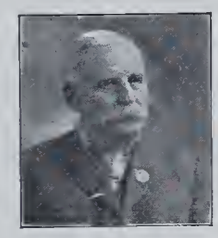

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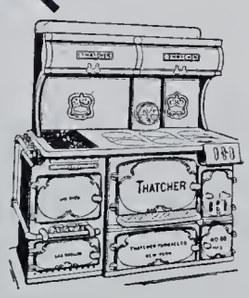

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